

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 11128

EXDIS

EUROPEAN UNITY AS BEING SOUGHT IN OPPOSITION TO THE
UNITED STATES. FUNDAMENTALLY, THEY ARE NOT OPPOSED TO
A UNITED EUROPE IN AN ATLANTIC FRAMEWORK -- DEPENDING
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ON WHAT IS MEANT BY "ATLANTIC FRAMEWORK." IF THEY
BELIEVE THE US MEANS A REALTIONSHIP IN WHICH THE
US CONSIDERS ITSELF THE LEADER AND EUROPE THE FOLLOWER,
IN WHICH THE US WISHES TO EXERCISE A VETO ON EUROPEAN

INITIATIVES, IN WHICH THE US WOULD USE ITS GREAT POWER AND INFLUENCE TO PRESSURE EUROPE TO ENDORSE US POLICIES, THEN FRANCE AS WELL AS THE OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS WILL OPPOSE AN ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP. BUT IF IT MEANS A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE US AND AN INDEPENDENT EUROPE (IN PRACTICE A EUROPE STRUGGLING SLOWLY TOWARD SOME FORM OF UNITY), IF WE MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE US PROPOSES A PARTNERSHIP OF EQUALS (EVEN THOUGH EUROPE IS NOT AS YET AN EQUAL), IF WE PROPOSE REAL OBLIGATIONS TO CONSULT ON BOTH SIDES, WE BELIEVE EUROPE WILL HAVE NO TROUBLE ACCEPTING THIS SORT OF ATLANTIC FRAMEWORK. HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF SUSPICIONS OF US MOTIVES AMONG EUROPEANS TODAY, DESERVED OR UNDESERVED, THE REALIZATION OF THIS SORT OF PARTNERSHIP WILL REQUIRE PATIENCE AND WILL PROBABLY CAUSE THE US A GREAT DEAL OF FRUSTRATION AS IT IS BEING ACHIEVED.

5. UNFORTUNATELY, TODAY MANY EUROPEANS FEAR AND SOME FIRMLY BELIEVE THE US IS ATTEMPTING TO FORGE A "SENIOR-JUNIOR" TYPE OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. THESE FEARS AND CONCERNS WERE FUELED RECENTLY BY THE LESLIE GELB ARTICLE IN THE APRIL 9 ISSUE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, WHICH ALLEGED THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY HAVE STOPPED PRESSING FOR A UNITED EUROPE BECAUSE OF THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE FRENCH DRIVE FOR EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP. IN SPITE OF OFFICIAL DENIALS, WHICH WE HAVE REPEATED AS OCCASIONS PRESENTED THEMSELVES, THE GELB STORY IS WIDELY ACCEPTED IN FRANCE, AND WE GATHER ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE, AS REFLECTING A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARDS EUROPEAN INTEGRATION NEITHER AMBASSADORS IN THE FIELD NOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN ARE ACCEPTED AS CREDIBLE IN DENYING A NEW US ATTITUDE TOWARDS EUROPE BECAUSE OF THE BELIEF THAT SUCH STORIES REFLECT SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VIEWS, TO WHICH LOWER AUTHORITIES ARE NOT ALWAYS PRIVY. THEREFORE, ONLY A CLEAR STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OR THE SECRETARY WILL BE EFFECTIVE IN COUNTERING ALLEGATIONS SUCH AS THOSE IN THE GELB ARTICLE, AND EVEN THEIR VOICES
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WILL BE LISTENED TO WITH SUSPICION AND DOUBT BECAUSE OF THE FEAR IN EUROPE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS EMBARKED UPON A "DIVIDE AND CONTROL" POLICY TO DOMINATE EUROPE.

6. THE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE ON UK RENEGOTIATION (REFTEL) PROVIDES THAT US POLICY DOES NOT REGARD EUROPEAN UNITY "AS AN END IN ITSELF OR AS AN ABSTRACTION." THE GUIDANCE CONTINUES THAT, "WE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO SUPPORT A UNITY WHOSE MAIN REASON FOR BEING IS OPPOSITION TO THE UNITED STATES." WE SHALL FOLLOW, AND, OF COURSE, BE GUIDED BY THESE INSTRUCTIONS IN ANY DISCUSSIONS RELATED TO THE MATTERS RAISED IN THE REFERENCED TELEGRAM. BUT, AS NOTED ABOVE, WE BELIEVE THE

CONCEPT OF A EUROPE UNITING IN OPPOSITION TO THE UNITED STATES IS A SPECTRE CALLED FORTH BY EXAGGERATIONS IN RECENT FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY AND BY AN OVER-REACTION BY SOME EUROPEANS TO THE FEAR THAT THE US IS SEEKING A VETO POWER WITHIN THE COMMUNITY. WE DO NOT REGARD IT AS A SERIOUS COMMUNITY-WIDE DESIRE OR OPTION. IT THEREFORE SEEMS TO US THAT THE FORMULATION OF US POLICY TOWARDS EUROPE SET FORTH IN THE REFTEL WILL ONLY ADD TO CONCERNS HERE THAT WE HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY QUALIFIED OUR SUPPORT FOR A UNITED EUROPE. WE BELIEVE THIS COULD HAVE UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES, PARTICULARLY DURING THE DIFFICULT PERIOD THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IS CURRENTLY UNDERGOING, WHEN THERE IS A REAL NEED TO REASSURE THE NINE OF FUNDAMENTAL AND LONG-RANGE US SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNIFICATION.

7. WE REALIZE THERE CAN BE RISKS TO THE UNITED STATES IN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION. THERE HAS NEVER BEEN ANY ASSURANCE THAT A UNITED EUROPE WOULD ALWAYS FOLLOW THE US LEAD OR ALWAYS AGREE WITH US ON IMPORTANT ISSUES. AT TIMES, AS IN THE PAST YEAR, ONE OR MORE GOVERNMENTS MAY EVEN SEEM TO BE ORGANIZING AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. THESE COULD RAISE SERIOUS PROBLEMS.. BUT THE LIKELY ALTERNATIVE OF A WEAK AND DIVIDED EUROPE IS FRAUGHT WITH THE OFTEN STATED BUT NONETHELESS REAL RISK OF "FINLANDIZATION", A DANGER OF A MUCH WIDER SCOPE AND OF A FAR MORE IRREVOCABLE NATURE. SUPPORT FOR THE

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